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DATE RECEIVED: OCTOBER 18, 1991

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE ABRAHAM D. SOFAER


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROUTE TO:</th>
<th>ACTION CODE</th>
<th>DATE MM/DD</th>
<th>TYPE RESP</th>
<th>DYYYY/MM/DD</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRENT SCOWCROFT</td>
<td>ORG</td>
<td>91/10/18</td>
<td>BS</td>
<td>91/10/26</td>
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REFERRAL NOTE: ORG 91/10/18 BS 91/10/26

COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO NANCY NANCY MENAN FORMER LEGAL ADVISOR AT DOS

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1131 4630

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1991

Dear Abe:

Thanks for your recent notes to the President and me and for sending a copy of your remarks to the 1991 Convention of the American Sephardi Federation. As usual, what you have to say is thoughtful. I also much appreciate the spirit in which your words were intended. Where we disagree, all I can say is that we are trying to pursue multiple humanitarian goals simultaneously, and it is not always possible to do so without making choices and establishing priorities. With luck and more than a little hard work, Madrid will begin a process that with time will make the Middle East a much improved place for everyone.

Thanks again for writing, and all the best.

Sincerely,

Brent Scowcroft

The Honorable
Abraham D. Sofaer
Hughes, Hubbard & Reed
1300 I Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20005-3306
TO: SOFAER, ABRAHAM D

FROM: SCOWCROFT

KEYWORDS: ISRAEL MP MIDDLE EAST

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO SOFAER LTR RE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

ACTION: SCOWCROFT SGD LTR DUE DATE: 22 OCT 91 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAASS LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCP:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO

HAASS NSC CHRON

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY ALW DATE 10/18 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJWF CLOSED BY: NSALW DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 HAASS
002 SCOWCROFT
003
004

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 91101815 DRAFT REPLY FOR PRES SIG
Z 91102415 FOR SIGNATURE
X 91102807 SCOWCROFT SGD LTR
X 91102807 SCOWCROFT SGD LTR

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National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: 

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SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
DOCLOG: A/O

KEN HILL
BILL SITTMANN
BOB GATES
BRENT SCOWCROFT
BILL SITTMANN
SITUATION ROOM
WEST WING DESK
NSC SECRETARIAT

SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN DISPOSITION

1
2
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A = Action  I = Information  D = Dispatch  R = Retain  N = No further Action

cc: VP Sununu Other

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

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DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:
Date 10-18-41

TO: HAASS

NSC Secretariat has requested us to check with you to see whether you want the attached sent to you for staffing, to State Dept., or other agencies for draft reply.

Please indicate:

_______ For Action

_______ Refer to State Dept. or other agencies for Draft Reply

_______ Other

Ralph Bellamy
October 22, 1991

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:  RICHARD N. HAASS

SUBJECT:  Response to Stuart Eizenstat and Abraham Sofaer

Stuart Eizenstadt wrote the President October 1 to explain his public opposition to the 120 day loan deferrment to Israel. He also sent along a copy of his recent Foreign Policy article. I have drafted a response from you to him at Tab A.

Abe Sofaer wrote to you and the President, passing along a copy of his recent remarks on the Middle East peace process and US-Israel relations at the Convention of the American Sephardi Federation. I have drafted a response from you to him at Tab B.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter to Stuart Eizenstat at Tab A and the letter to Abraham Sofaer at Tab B.

Attachment
Tab A  Letter to Stuart Eisenstat
Tab B  Letter to Abe Sofaer
Tab C  Letter from Stuart Eisenstat to the President
Tab D  Letter and speech from Abe Sofaer to the President
Tab E  Letter and speech from Abe Sofaer to General Scowcroft
October 14, 1991

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a recent effort concerning the Middle East peace process. As you might imagine, I have some concerns about recent decisions. On the other hand, I strongly admire and support the current effort and your overall commitment to Israel's security.

Warm regards to you and Barbara.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Enclosure
The Honorable Brent Scowcroft  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Brent:

Enclosed is a recent effort concerning the Middle East peace process. I hope you find it useful.

I am enjoying private practice but I miss the thoughtful, though too infrequent, sessions we had together.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Enclosure
Hardcopy pages are in poor condition (too light or too dark).

Remainder of case not scanned.

Report not scanned.

Oversize attachment not scanned.

Enclosure not scanned.

Proclamation not scanned.

Incoming letters not scanned.

Proposal not scanned.

Statement not scanned.

Duplicate letters attached - Not Scanned.

Only table of contents scanned.

No incoming letter attached.

Only tracking sheet scanned.

Photo(s) not scanned.

Comments:
THE PEACE PROCESS

AFTER

THE GULF WAR

REMARKS OF

ABRAHAM D. SOFAER

AT THE

1991 CONVENTION OF THE

AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION

IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 15, 1991
PRESIDENT NESSIM GAON AND CHAIRMAN
ALBERTO NASSER OF THE WORLD SEPHARDI FEDERATION;
CHAIRMAN ED ALCOSSER AND PRESIDENT LEON LEVY OF
THE AMERICAN SEPHARDI FEDERATION; HONORED GUESTS
AND FRIENDS. WE ARE IN LOS ANGELES, FOR THE FIFTH
CONSECUTIVE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN
SEPHARDI FEDERATION. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE
ATTENDED. THE ORGANIZATION NOW REACHES OUT TO
OVER 20,000 SEPHARDI FAMILIES IN THIS COUNTRY.

WE SEPHARDIM ARE PROUD OF OUR HERITAGE,
PROUD OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND EAGER
FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EASTERN
NATIONS IN WHICH MANY OF OUR FOREFATHERS LIVED FOR
HUNDREDS OF YEARS, AND TO WHICH WE ARE BOUND BY
DEEP CULTURAL TIES.

THE PEACE PROCESS IS TODAY IN A
DRAMATICALLY DIFFERENT STATE FROM THE SITUATION
Immediately after the Gulf War. At that time, the Bush Administration had accepted the Shamir Plan in theory, but was ignoring three of its four elements in practice. The U.S. had done nothing to encourage "a common endeavor for the strengthening of the peace [between Israel and Egypt] and for its extension"; or toward "the establishment of peaceful relations" with "those Arab states which still maintain a state of war" with Israel, including the cessation of hostile actions in international fora; or to improve the living conditions of Arab refugees. Our entire focus then was on that aspect of the Shamir Plan which called for a dialogue between Israel and the Palestinians.

One reason for our focus on getting Israel to the table with Palestinians is easy to
UNDErSTAND: ANY SUCH MEETING WOULD BE AN
IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH, INCREASING THE CHANCES
THAT THE PARTIES WOULD GO ON TO NEGOTIATE THE
ISSUES THAT DIVIDE THEM. BUT THIS OBJECTIVE HAS
BEEN THE CENTRAL AIM OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY FOR
ANOTHER REASON. THE ARAB STATES, WITH THE
EXCEPTION OF EGYPT, HAVE FOR YEARS RESISTED MAKING
ANY CONCESSIONS TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY ON THE GROUND
THAT ISRAEL REALLY HAS NOTHING TO WORRY ABOUT, AND
THAT ONCE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IS SOLVED
EVERYTHING ELSE WILL BE SOLVED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY.
OUR STATE DEPARTMENT HAS FOR YEARS ACCEPTED THIS
LINE, AND AS A RESULT HAS DONE VIRTUALLY NOTHING TO
PRESSURE ARAB STATES INTO NORMALIZING RELATIONS
WITH ISRAEL, FOCUSING INSTEAD ON THE PALESTINIAN
PROBLEM. ISRAEL, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS
CONSISTENTLY ARGUED THAT ITS FEAR OF THE ARAB

- 4 -
CONFRONTATION STATES IS REAL, THAT THEY HATE AND WANT TO DESTROY ISRAEL, AND THAT EVIDENCE OF THEIR READINESS TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ISRAEL IS AS NECESSARY AS ISRAEL/PALESTINIAN DISCUSSIONS FOR A MEANINGFUL PEACE PROCESS.

THE GULF WAR DEMONSTRATED THAT ISRAEL WAS RIGHT ON THIS CRITICAL ISSUE, AND THAT THE US WAS WRONG. IF IRAQ WOULD DESTROY ITS BROTHER ARABS, LOOT AND SET AFIRE THEIR WEALTH, CONTAMINATE THEIR WATERS, IT IS CLEAR WHAT IRAQ WOULD DO TO ITS SWORN ENEMY, ISRAEL. AND HOW CLOSE WE WERE TO DISASTER. SADDAM ATTACKED ISRAEL WITHOUT PROVOCATION, WITH MISSILES WHICH COULD HAVE CARRIED NUCLEAR DEVICES BUT FOR ISRAEL'S ATTACK ON HIS NUCLEAR PROGRAM TEN YEARS AGO. IT WAS A PARTICULARLY CHILLING DOSE OF REALITY TO WATCH PALESTINIANS CHEER AS SCUDS FELL INDISCRIMINATELY ON CIVILIAN AREAS, WITHIN ISRAEL,
AND TO HEAR SAUDI AND KUWAITI LEADERS SAY THEY WOULD RATHER BE DESTROYED THAN FIGHT ALONGSIDE ISRAEL. PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY BAKER DID NOT MISS THE OBVIOUS LESSON: ARAB HOSTILITY TOWARD ISRAEL IS AS PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR BELIEVES, NOT AS AMERICAN DIPLOMATS HAVE ASSUMED.

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS AFTER THE WAR IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO ITS DECISION TO IMPLEMENT THAT ASPECT OF THE SHAMIR PLAN THAT CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB ENEMIES. AMERICAN DIPLOMATS ANNOUNCED THIS POLICY SHIFT AS THE "TWO TRACK" APPROACH, AND SECRETARY BAKER WENT TO WORK IN EARNEST. WHEN THE GULF WAR ENDED HE HAD NEVER BEEN TO ISRAEL. TODAY, HE IS ON HIS WAY THERE FOR THE EIGHTH TIME. HE HAS ALREADY OBTAINED COMMITMENTS FROM EGYPT, ISRAEL, JORDAN, LEBANON,
Syria, and key Palestinian leaders to join the peace process. And he has redesigned that process so that it now reflects Middle Eastern realities:

0 First, an international meeting hosted by the US and USSR will bless the process and turn it over to the parties;

0 Bilateral negotiations will then commence between Israel and Syria, Israel and Lebanon, and Israel and Jordan, which will be accompanied by a Palestinian delegation; and

0 Israel will also be invited to participate in talks with many Arab states with whom it has no present relations on such regional issues as arms control and water.
This agenda is a great improvement over the approach that would initially have focussed exclusively on the Palestinian problem.

Of course, grave and complex difficulties remain unresolved, especially forming the Palestinian delegation. But the long heralded meeting between Israel and the Palestinians is closer than ever, largely because Secretary Baker broadened the process to reflect a more realistic concern for Israel's security.

Despite this remarkable progress, a deep-seated unease permeates the American Jewish community and the Israel/U.S. relationship. That the Administration has taken positions different from Israel's, even on important issues, is not what causes this concern. The Israel/U.S. relationship can endure substantial differences.
Rather, I see this concern as resulting from the nature of the differences involved, and the sense that they stem from a lack of regard by the US for moral principle. The notion that Israel had strategic value to the US in its competition with the USSR is no longer an important consideration.

Israel's claim to American support now rests on principles of political morality: a common commitment to freedom and to Judeo/Christian values. Therefore, if US policy concerning the Middle East is to be formed without regard for fundamental principles of political morality, Israel is in deep trouble. Progress in the peace process in such a context, rather than being a blessing, will be regarded as a potential threat to Israel's survival.
THE MOST TROUBLING INCIDENTS ALL SEEM TO REFLECT A DESIRE BY THE US TO ACHIEVE SOME PROPER OBJECTIVE, BUT AT AN UNACCEPTABLE PRICE. THUS:

0 WHILE ALL OF US SHARE THE PRESIDENT'S DESIRE TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF WESTERN HOSTAGES IN LEBANON, IT IS WRONG TO EQUATE THEM WITH SHIA AND PALESTINIAN PRISONERS WHO ARE EITHER SOLDIERS OR TERRORISTS;

0 WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT ISRAEL CAN JUSTLY BE CRITICIZED FOR USING EXCESSIVE FORCE, THE TEMPLE MOUNT RESOLUTION SHOULD HAVE BEEN VETOED BECAUSE IT FAILED TO INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE, REFLECTING THE DISGRACEFUL FACT THAT THE UN HAS NEVER CONDEMNED PALESTINIAN TERROR;

0 WHILE PRESIDENT BUSH IS ENTITLED TO HIS VIEW THAT ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED
TERRITORIES ARE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE, THIS
POSITION DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE DENIAL OR
DELAY OF DESPERATELY NEEDED HUMANITARIAN
ASSISTANCE.

AND WHILE THE PRESIDENT CAN PROPERLY DELAY
LOAN GUARANTEES IF HE BELIEVES THEY WOULD
DISRUPT THE PEACE PROCESS, HE IS WRONG TO
HAVE SUGGESTED, IN FIGHTING FOR THIS
OBJECTIVE, THAT JEWS ARE SOMEHOW BEHAVING
IMPROPERLY IN SEEKING AMERICA'S ASSISTANCE
IN SETTLING OUR SOVIET AND ETHIOPIAN
BRETHREN IN ISRAEL.

I HAVE TAKEN CARE TO SPELL OUT THESE
CONCERNS, BECAUSE THEY ARE IMPORTANT. WE MUST
PRESS THIS ADMINISTRATION TO BE PRINCIPLED IN DEALING
WITH ISRAEL, BECAUSE THE US IS ULTIMATELY ISRAEL'S
BEST HOPE FOR FAIR TREATMENT. BUT THESE CONCERNS MUST ALSO BE KEPT IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. PRESIDENT BUSH AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE DONE GREAT THINGS FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND FOR ISRAEL WHICH WE WOULD BE UNFAIR AND UNWISE TO FORGET. AMONG THESE ARE ACTIONS THAT CAN ONLY REFLECT A DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL OF JEWS AND THE WELL BEING OF ISRAEL.

0 AS VICE PRESIDENT, GEORGE BUSH PERSONALLY LED AN EFFORT TO SAVE THOUSANDS OF ETHIOPIAN JEWS, AND HE AGAIN PLAYED A CRITICAL ROLE AS PRESIDENT IN CONVINCING ETHIOPIA TO FREE OVER 14,000 MORE.

0 HE HAS DONE A MAGNIFICENT JOB IN OBTAINING FREEDOM TO EMIGRATE FOR HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SOVIET JEWS AND FREEDOM TO PRACTICE JUDAISM FOR THE MILLIONS THAT STILL REMAIN.
He has continued the policy of prior Republican Administrations by increasing aid to Israel, including special payments of $650 million after the Gulf War and of $450 million in loan guarantees.

He has kept in place the political structure developed over the years to enhance US/Israeli cooperation, including a joint program for missile defence.

He is the first American President to use American forces in the physical defence of Israel, by rushing Patriot missiles there in response to Iraq's SCUD attacks.

He is also the first President to call for formal repeal of the despicable resolution equating Zionism with racism, and this Administration has pushed to convince the...
Soviet Union to normalize its relations with the Jewish state.

0 Finally, his determination in confronting and defeating Iraq, Israel's principal enemy, despite the opposition of virtually every Jewish Democrat in Congress, saved Israel from the very real threat of a future attack with weapons of mass destruction. For this act alone, the Bush Administration deserves our most profound admiration and approval.

We must also keep in mind, in evaluating this or any administration, that we Jews have a tendency to overreact, as we did when George Shultz was nominated as Secretary of State, when Ronald Reagan sold AWACs to the Saudis, and when he went to Bitburg. In retrospect, despite these
CONCERNS, THE REAGAN/SHULTZ TEAM IS REMEMBERED FOR
THE MANY THINGS THEY DID RIGHT, AND FOR THEIR BASIC
GOOD WILL TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE
BUSH/BAKER TEAM HAS A MORE BUSINESSLIKE STYLE ON
ALL ISSUES, NOT JUST ISRAEL, BUT THEIR GOOD WILL
SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED.

PRESIDENT BUSH DID NOT GO TO BITBURG, HE
WENT TO BABI YAR. WHAT STRUCK ME MOST IN READING
WHAT HE SAID THERE ON AUGUST 1 OF THIS YEAR WAS HIS
DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF WHAT HE CALLED "A RITUAL OF
HUMILIATION AND DEATH." HE KNOWS THE IMPORTANCE
OF RECALLING HORROR IN DETAIL, SO WE ARE FORCED TO
REMEMBER. AND WHEN HE ACCEPTED THE SIMON
WIESENTHAL CENTER'S TRIBUTE FOR SAVING ETHIOPIAN
JEWRY, REMEMBRANCE WAS HIS THEME. "IN MEMORY OF
THE MILLIONS WHO DIED," HE SAID, "WE MUST NOT
FORGET. WE MUST NOT CLOSE OUR HEARTS. WE MUST
NOT FAIL TO ACT." HE SAID SOMETHING ELSE IN THAT ADDRESS THAT FOR ME WAS MOST REVEALING. HE MADE CLEAR WHAT I STRONGLY SUSPECTED WHEN HE CONFRONTED IRAQ -- THAT HE HAD ACTED THEN WITH THE MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST, TO PREVENT A REPETITION OF THAT HORROR. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THE INSPECTORS HAVE DISCOVERED IN IRAQ DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS, IT IS CLEAR THAT SADDAM WAS VERY, VERY CLOSE TO BEING ABLE TO KILL JEWS BY THE MILLIONS.

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS NOT, MOREOVER, LIMITED HIS POSITIVE REMARKS CONCERNING ISRAEL TO JEWISH GROUPS. ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1991, HE WENT TO THE VERY BASTION OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE WORLD AND CALLED FOR THE REPEAL OF ITS INFAMOUS RESOLUTION. "ZIONISM" HE EXPLAINED
IS NOT A POLICY; IT IS THE IDEA THAT LED TO
THE CREATION OF A HOME FOR THE JEWISH
PEOPLE, TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL. AND TO
EQUATE ZIONISM WITH THE INTOLERABLE SIN OF
RACISM IS TO TWIST HISTORY AND FORGET THE
TERRIBLE PLAGUE OF JEWS IN WORLD WAR II AND,
indeed, throughout history. To equate
ZIONISM WITH RACISM IS TO REJECT ISRAEL
ITSELF -- A MEMBER OF GOOD STANDING OF THE
UNITED NATIONS.

THIS BODY CANNOT CLAIM TO SEEK PEACE
AND AT THE SAME TIME CHALLENGE ISRAEL’S
RIGHT TO EXIST. BY REPEALING THIS
RESOLUTION UNCONDITIONALLY, THE UNITED
NATIONS WILL ENHANCE ITS CREDIBILITY AND
SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.
Furthermore, we must be realistic enough to note that this record of extraordinary benefit to Israel and its supporters was compiled by a leadership that is well aware of the apparently hopeless attachment of American Jews to the Democratic Party. Republican Jews remain a very small minority, and Jewish Democrats vote for Republican presidential candidates in far lower proportions than Democrats as a whole. That President Bush has held numerous meetings with Jewish leaders of both parties, has sought their advice, and has responded to their suggestions, can only be attributed to his genuine concern.

Finally, in judging the Bush Administration, we must be honest about Israel's shortcomings as well. On several issues, most American Jews strongly agree with President Bush's position.
FOR ONE HAVE NEVER ACCEPTED THE PROPRIETY OF
DEPORTATIONS, WHICH OCCUR WITHOUT THE SEMBLANCE OF
DUE PROCESS, OR THE IMPOSITION OF COLLECTIVE
PUNISHMENT, OR THE FORCED OPENING OF STORES. THE
PRESIDENT DESERVES TO FEEL THAT AMERICAN JEWS ARE
PREPARED TO EXAMINE EACH ISSUE HONESTLY, AND ON THE
BASIS OF THE SAME VALUES ON WHICH WE ASK THAT HE
BASE HIS OWN POLICIES.

So, we are at a critical stage, and we have
legitimate reasons for concern. But the strategy
we choose must be effective, not merely satisfying
to our collective anxieties. We must resist every
decision of this or any administration that
subordinates moral principle to political
expediency. But we would be foolish to accept the
unjust claims that the administration is anti-
semitic or determined to sacrifice Israel's
FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS TO A PRO-ARAB AGENDA. THE RECORD REFUTES SUCH CHARGES, AND WE DO ISRAEL A DISSERVICE BY INDULGING THEM. FURTHERMORE, THE PEACE PROCESS IS MOVING AS NEVER BEFORE, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF MEN WITH EXTRAORDINARY POLITICAL ABILITY AND DRIVE. IT SERVES OUR INTERESTS AS AMERICANS AND AS SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL TO WORK AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE WITH THESE LEADERS AS THEY FORMULATE THEIR PLANS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE DAYS AHEAD. WE MUST, IN SHORT, HAVE THE COURAGE TO STAND UP FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE IS RIGHT; BUT WE MUST ALSO HAVE THE WISDOM TO ACT EFFECTIVELY.